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1600

Saint PETERS BONDS abide:

FOR

RHETORICK

Worketh no

RELEASE,

Is evidenced in

A ferious and fober confideration of Dr. John Gauden's fence and folution of the Solemn League and Covenant,

As it relates to the Government of the Church by Episcopacy.

By Zech. CROFTON.

First Edition come yes

Josh. 9.19. VVe have sworne unto them by the Lord God of Israel; now therefore we may not touch them.

London, Printed for Ralph Smith, at the Bible in
Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange. 1660.

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By Zees. Chor ou.

The Second Edition.

John S. 19. 1775 been from and them by the Landers of Linds of men therefore we may not touch them.

Loss des Princed Coe Kalph Swith, at the Dillie in



HONOURED

Sir LAWRENCE BRONFEILD,

Knight, and Colonel in

LONDON.

Honoured Sir.



Ou have been pleased (in order to composure of our unhappy differences) to suggest unto a grave and learned Divine, a confiderable cafe of Conscience Relating to Church-Discipline, (viz.) The confiftency of Episcopacy with the Solemn League and Covenant, and you have thereby produced his Resolution unto the loofing

of Saint Perers Bonds, as he is pleased to Entitle it : You may Sir remember, it is Solomons experienced Rule, It is a pro. 20.28 Juare (o: stumbling stone) to devoure boly things, and after vows to make enquiry: (How to keep or retract them (faith Mercer) for that, indeed, many times, the Resolution proveth more entangling than the Obligation; I wish that this were not found the unhappy fate of Dr. Gauden his sence and solution of the Covenant in point of Episcopacy.

Truly Sir, according to that I ttle skill that I have in things of this nature, this Refolution to your enquiry is fo fadly shipwrackt on the uncertainty of the object, inadvertency of expression, and imbecility of Answer and Argument, those three Rocks that

lay-way conscience-satisfaction; that it cannot arrive at its defired haven; but notwithstanding its Angelical voice will leave Saint Peter as fait tettered as it found him . If Sir. I may do it without offence, I would make bold to discover it that some other attempt for Saint Peter's rescue may be underraken.

Encertain pro-

First, Sir, there is not a greater danger to be shunned by a posal of the ob- Casuist , than a mistake, of michrain proposal of the object, or Raject. tio formalis of the obligation scrupled and to be discharged, which giveth occasion to the scrupulous conscience more easily to start from the most pinching Conclusions that are put upon it ! and herein Sir, if I mistake not, the Dr. is very unhappy; for he propounds the object of Rain formalis of the Covenant under the general term Episcopacy; the which he well knoweth, is owned as an appellation common to all and every the Governours of the Church, who are in Scripture denominated Bishops; and by good demonstration Billing and Presbyter have been afferred to be synominous titles of Church-Officers, and are-found to have been fo used in the Primitive times of the Church, and Writings of the Fathers; and in this sence the Episcopacy which he supposeth to be the object of the Covenant, intends only of Episcopacy

The true sence

.VS

Acts 20,28.

confiftent with the Government of the Church by the Ministers an ! Officers the Covenant rhereof, who may, and must in their several Atlemblies (ordis nis canfa) have a President of Moderator, to resulate and dis spose all things which belong to Order; as in all policy to the Chair belongeth; and if this be it he means by his Episcopacy. Primitive, Regular, Reformed, and paternal Episcopacy: Which I could eafily imagine when I observe the Emphasis of his univerfal ciscretive All Episcopacy, page 9. and elsewhere often men-I tioned, and that in an opposition to some Episcopacy abjured and fit to be extirpated; and that it is explained by the adjuncts. Reformed and Regulated as it ought to be, as page 8. and opposed to an Episcopacy the confessed Subject of abusive excesses and defetts not only in the execution of its authority , through the faults and infirmities of som: Biskops and their instruments; who possibly were not so worth; and good; or not so wife, and discreet, as became Christian Bistops, and Ecclesiafical Governours of Christs Church; but also in the very inconveniency of its Constitution and Customs in England, page 10. In both which he confesseth, page 21. there needeth an bone ft and ingenuous Reformation of Episcopacy, beyond the former excels frae, or defictive conflictution, or execution of it! And more particularly by that Explication which is annexed in page 14. The efficacious conjunction of it with Presbytery according to the Reduction of the most reverend Primate of Armach and the considerations of the Lord Verulam offered to King James: If I fay, this be the Episcopacy he means, I frumbly conceive in his Book he doth sudare de nugis, labour to little purpose: for so farre is any intelligent Covenanter from looking on their look? ing back, to the Prmitive, Catholick, and Universal government, of this, or any other ancient Churches; to endanger the the ning of them into Pillars of Apostacy, as Lots wife was into a Pillar of Salt, that they judge an arrival at it, to be their Zoar in their escap: from Sodom; and hereof he might have affired himself by what (page 22.) he prosesseth himself to know to have been the sence of the Learned men in the late A Jembly of Divines, and by Mr. Marshal's Declaration, that the Covenant was lewelled at the Disposicum Tyrannicum Regimen; there are no Covenanters that know any thing of the true nature of Prefbytery, but they will embrace this Epifcopacy as not only confiftent with, but the very complement of the Covenant as to that point and Article; and will confess this is not only the konest, but literal and complexive meaning of it, and with him will condemn them for rigid Bigors and virulent firits, to be Righted, not Ariven with, who conceive themselves bound against fuch a Primitive, Reformed, and Regular Episcopacy under fuch a reduction (as I conceive) would prove the formal corruption of the Episcopacy covenanted against, and I hope. he will find few, very few fuch covenanters in England. But if Sir, by Episcopacy he mean (as I must confess I am

jealous he doth) that frame and fabrick by which the man of fin was made manifest, did advance himself in the Temple of God, above (not only all his fellow Ministers or Bshops). The vulgar and but even Magistrates, all that were called God; which was, by late acceptathis appearance and exaltation, innovated into, and obtruded on on of Episcopasthe Churches of God in these Nations, on the fall of the Monks cy repugnant of Bangor, and was so exercised, that Anselm (whom Laude to the Coverance ded, as in place, so in property, and almost power) did

appear papa alterius mundi; wherein Bishops as a species or kind of Ministers different and distinct from Presbyters; and fo Superior to them, not only in point of Order, but Office and Authority, together with all that Hierarchy by which it was executed; all which his terms do too plainly suggest when he speaks of the Episcopacy which England sometimes had; was lately destroyed, the legal Episcopacy, pag. 19. an Episcopacy wherein the Bifhops are diftinet from Presbyters , pag. 21. atrogate unto themselves the fole power of Ordaining Ministers. and to be the chief Confervators, Cifierns, and Conduits of Ecclefiastical authority, and Ministerial power, pag. 12. who have not only Precedency and Order, but paternal authority pag. 18. and that not only over people, but their Paffers; who are by this antithesis fraternal with them, and so filial to the paternal power of the Bishops; and make up the paternal fraternal, and filial unity of Bishops, Presbyters, and people, pa. s. Nay, in opposition to whom the ordinary Minister or Presbyter, is divested of all power, and degraded of all dignity among the people; and the Bishop, as dignified above him, so distinguished from him by his Lawn sleeves, which is plainly fuggested when he rells us, The people of England are not to be governed by their equals and inferiors, because they are in black Coats, pag. 17. All these expressions, with many of the like nature, do feem to fet up and point out fuch an Episcopacy, as is not Primitive and Regular: And I say, if this bethe meaning of his Episcopacy, as the word (in the vulgar acceptation by the too long appropriation of it to fuch an unjust and Anti-christian frame of Government) may be understood: Truly Sir, then I must be free to tell him the fence and very Letter of the Covenant is clear against it, and binds the taker in terminis to the exterpation of Prelacy, that is to lay, the Government by Arch-Bishops , Bishops , their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Ar b-Deacons and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy? So that it is the thing, not its abuse; the subject, not its adjuncts; the Fabrick, not its defects and excelles, is covenanted against, nor will the Covenant be accomplished, or the conscience be satisfied by the removal of the pride, presumpris on, idlen fs, coverousacfs, and spranny of Bishops, whill the prepreheminence, prerogative, paternal power, and invidical anshorter affumed by them as diffinet from and above all other Ministers of the Gospel, as the only immediate Successors of the Apostles, and enforced by their High Commission and Statchamber with other imperial Courts, Officers, and proceedings are continued and established; nor must be think by his Sophistical comparison, to deceive and delude the conscience. cellingus, page 17, 18. That, they that Covenanted against Papery , cannot think they did abjure, or must abborre all those faving truths and duties of Christianity, which are mixed with Popery; for whatsoever is formal pop ry, though it be an English Mass or Alter, that, all that, though only that, must be abhorred; and I conceive it yet remains to be proved that the paternal authority of Episcopacy is a faving truth or Christian duty, or not of the formality of prelacy, and clearby intended in the word Hierar, by, Chief-Priest-hood, as the principle of all the unjust power and p fority affurned and exercif doyer other Ministers; and so that very government covenanted against. It is no hard case of conscience to resolve whether a man may use the good and substantial materials of a destroyed Fabrick; but I conceive it an high fallacy, from thence to impose the very form refolved against.

You fee Sir, at what uncertainty we are left, whilft the objett of the obligation is propounded under a general term, whose proper, primitive, and genuine fignification, suggests one thing, and the vulgar and long-used acceptation suggests another: and our resolution is darkned by the multitude of expressions, concluding sometimes one, and sometimes the other thing; which of these shall a conscientious Covenanter embrace? You cannot Sir, but know, the work of a Casust, is, to be full, and clear in the discovery of the Ratio formalis, thing or matter; concerning which the conscience conceiveth it self obliged; and that it is a great unhappiness in an Interpreter, and much greater

in a Cafeift, to refolve obsensa per obsensiora.

But Sir, that I may testifie my willingness to understand him, and cement, what in me lieth, the sad differences in the Church? Shall I intreat you, will please to provoke the Doctor, and his anti-covenant-Brethren, such as seem to advance and promote an Episcopacy scrupled by Covenanters; to speak our, and clearly

to declare, whether they will admit the removal of the Government by Arch-Bishops, and that late Hierarchy; which he

concludes, page 18, is dead, and must rise in another quality; and (according to what is suggested in the Reduction by him urged) consent to the establishment of Congregational, Clasfical, Provincial, and National Assemblies, or Synods of Church-Officers; Communi concilio Presbyterorum; to debate and determine the affairs of the Church, and exercise all Acts of discipline and Ecclesiastick power: In each of which if there be 1gnatius his Angel, Tertullian his Summus (acerdos, or Armagh's Bishop or Super-intendent, for order-sake to call Assemblies propound questions, gather suffrages, require Order and composure in audience and debate, pronounce sentence, and fign Decrees, and to be fixed in that place, enjoying all the dignities thereto belonging, and to be distinguished by some special denomination from his Chorepifcopi or Colleagues; they shall not only enjoy my confent (who I hope make conscience of the Covenant) but also endeavour (which I think will not much need) that all the Covenanted Ministers may joyn with them in a Petition to His Majesty, that by a Synod (by His Majesties Authority) called, it

may be speedily consulted and concluded on; under which I doubt not but the Peace of the Church will be preserved, and power

But if nothing will ferve them but Bishops, distinct in order and

of truth and godliness be promoted.

OI

Presbyterial

Episcopacy

admitted.

office from Presbyters, and exercifing over them a paternal author Domineering rity; appropriating to themselves the power of ordaining Mini-Prelacy refused fers, and the succession to the Apostles, and the Jurisdiction before noted; we must intreat him to produce those clear, pregnant, and constant beams of right reason, and true Religion, which shineth in the brightness and stability of Divine and Humane Laws; which may be the pillars of this truth, firm supports of duty, sure bounds of obedience, and safe repose of conscience in this point; greatly darkned by the many disputes of Bishops and Presbyters; Papifts and Protestants; nay, by the positive affertions of both Papills and Protestant Divines, and determinations of Schoolmen, who have concluded Bishops and Presby ters to be Ministers ejusdem ordinis, equal in office and and thority, and in this very case of government; all which his very Reduction proposed doth not obscurely suggest. Sir, the

conscience is (by him consessed) to be more tender, than to be deluded with Sophistry, or silenced by a pretence of Regulation and Moderation, which intends no other, save a Reduction of Episcopacy to its pristine and corrupt estate, not unto Presbytery.

Thus Sir I have noted the fift Rock, and the Doctor's un-

whatever he ef er writeth.

The inadvertency of bis expressions will appear no leffe evi- Inadvertency dent, than his ambiguous trate of the Scruple, and its resoluti- of expressions on; if we either observe its fiercenesse or fallehood: The fiercenelle of it is much manifested in those multiplied invectives uttered against the Covenant and authority which did enjoyn it; and persons who did compose it; in these and the like intemperate terms, " a firatagem of State, a Flag of Faction, an en-Fierce exprese ec eine framed of purpose to batter down Episcopacy, page 13. fions. Covenanting complements, and Reformings of bungling Reformers, page 24. The perty composition of a few of politick men, Subjects, not Princes, and very mean Subjects ce too, some of them, either as Lawyers or Ministers, agreat " part of whom, I and others well know to be no very great " Clerks, or Statesmen, fitter for a Countrey cure, than to contrive Solemn Leagues and Covenants; whose beads, rether than their bearts; and their State Correspondencies. ce more than their consciences brought forth the Covenant, page cc 11. The effect of Scottife importunities, Englife compliancc cos, and Presbyterian insolencies, page 5. brought forth by " the Midwifery of Tumults, and Armies, engaged and enrace ged parties, and factions; whose wrath and policy were not or probable to work the righteousness of God; evil Angels turning our waters into blood, page 6,7. These and many the like Railing. Taunting, and Intemperate terms, much below the expected lubriety of a fo publickly professed healer of Englands wounds: yet as an evidence of his fury, he fallely chargeth the Covenant with most fad and unblest effects, and to have been the cause of all the " bavecks in Church and State, improsperice ties, diforders, confusions, contempts, mars, spoyls, blood- Falle charge " fed, upon all eftates, and degrees, contempt of Religion. " and neglect of Sacraments, page 7. One of the great Rocks

ee for the King's shipwrack, no lesse then the Churches and se States, and that it was watered with the King's blood. pag. 8. I cannot but wonder to find Dr. Gamden thus audaller calumniare! for can any considerate Reader, or competent observer of the transactions of our Nations in these last years, reade thefe reproachfull speeches, and not conclude them a most pofitive and publick calumny? Let the Covenant it felf be confidered, and can it. by reason of any tendency in it self, be charged to be the proper cause of such prodigious effects? Is it not the most fervent profession of piety towards God, Loyally to the King, and Justice towards men, can be made? Is it not the most firm tie to Religion that can be fastned e and the fullest security of all kinde of Interests, the prerogative of the King, the Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subject, which can be given ? can any thing but ill-will represent to the world such unblest effects as the natural products of it? and if some persons engaged in it, have engaged in and acted fuch horrid impieties, inhumane and barbarous actions, under the false cry of the Covenant, shall a than of juffice, charge the baffard-brood of fuch prophaneness, to be the natural iffue of so Solemn and Sacred an Oath !

But Sir, will not an observation of the time, when these sad and unblest effects fell upon us, acquit the Covenant from being in the least accessary unto the production of them? If my observation faileme not, and I be not mistaken in my account, the

venant was imposed; or so much as devised, or digested; all

which .

Confusion be-4 throwing stools at the heads of the Bishops in Scotland, the fore the Cove-4 pulling down the Star-Chamber and High Commission mant.

**Courts (those grand supports of Prelatical Power) the tase king away the Bishops Votes and Session in Parliament: The preparations against Scotland, (by Bishop Peirce his Bellum Episcopale) the tumults about Lambeth, the imprisonment of the Bishops in the Tower, the tumults about Whitehall and Wessminster, with his late Majesties departure from the two Houses, the setting up his Majesties Standard, the alasserums of War, with many battels and blood-shed; the victione of the vulgar against the Liturgy, Crosses, and Altars, with all that confusion and disorder which attended our first unhappy differences, are of some years date before the Co-

which were not only begun, but carried to fome confiderable progress before it had its being; how then could these be the

black shadows of its oppearing and prevailing in England?

Some have observed, that from the time of the taking of the

Covenant, fuccess fell on the fide of the Parliament, and things did thencefor ward grow into a tendency to peace, and refled not untill it effected the Refolves that His Mojesties Concessions were Satisfactory and Sufficient ground of peace. And here let it be noted that it was fo far from being watered with the King's blood, that when the debate (relating to His Majefty) engaged the Contests in the House, which run the Armies on those high insolencies against the Parliament, as to pull out violently 120. Members, who in conscience of the Covenant, did pursue and firuggle for His Majesties Restitution Covenant conwith bonour and bappineffe, And the Covenant was by that test against the perfidious pack openly declared useles, an Almanack out of King's death. date, and violated with the highest impiety imaginable, to make way to that execrable murther of his most Sacred Majesty: Nay Sir, can the clamours of the Covenant (which were fo loud in Press and Pulpit, by the Ministers of London in their Representation to the Armies at Saint Albans (before they perpetrated their horrid defignes) in their publick Vindication Printed with their names Subscribed, witnessing to the World the inconsistency of that Barbarous proceeding with the Solemn League and Covenant,) be so far out of the Doctor's remembrance, as to charge the Covenant (fo Eminently approved the pillar of witness against it) to have been the Rock of the King's (hipwrack, and watered with bis blood? Your Cafuift was willing to have all the world to know * his innocency as Reprinting to that inhumane wickedness; methinks Sir, he should not quite his own pro-

Moreover Sir, many that are no Rigid Bigots, or virulent firits, and have considered the concurrence of affairs in this The more liked Church, and Kingdom, think, that without breach of charity lare confusion or sobriety, they may conclude the arrogancy of Prelates, the ons. alterations of publick worship, the innovated Ceremonies and Superstitions, the Oath (with its etextera) binding to Canonical obedience, the excommunications, banishments, stigmati-

teft againft it.

zing, Confiscations, imprisonments, and high Commission-Cen-

over-look others no leffe innocent than himfelf.

Jures equinst pious Non-conformists, with the silencing and surspending painfull, powerfull and pious Preachers, with the
Arbitrary, Illegall imposition of the new Service-Book in Scotland, look much more like the natural parent, and proper
cause of our late Consustons, Commotions, War, and Bloodshed, then doth the Salemn League and Covenant; but I intend not to retort or recrimate.

I shall Sir, leave wise men to judge, how unlikely a course it is, by such unadvised expressions, to satisfie conscience; which is so tender and tickle, that all offences should be avoided; passion is not only a perturbation to the mind, but also a prejudice to the understanding of what is propounded; the answer had need be clear, and arguments convincing, that sollow such provocations unto prejudice; which would make a sober (much more a scrupulous) conscience turn aside and read no surther; when conscience is so tender that reason is ready to pinch it into passion, how little need is there to provoke it by Railings and reflexion of just miscarriages? (much less unjust calumnies:) Though Ironies and Satyrs may become Oratours in reproof; they beseem not Casuists in the resolution of conscience-doubts.

But I proceed to confider his answer and Arguments, purpoty of his answer and arfwer and arguments, the been noted.

But I proceed to confider his answer and Arguments, purpothat is in them, though they come under so great disadvantages as have guments, the

third Rock of His Answer is as himself suggesteth, double, indirect, and

confcience-re- direct.

His indirect answer considered. His first Answer is indirect, and oblique stroak at the whole-body of the Covenant, which work, how prudently it is undertaken, considering the universall obligation of the Covenant on all men from His Sacred Majesty, to the meanest Subject, let wise mea judge? and how proper to him; who (if my information faile not) is himself engaged in it. It is indeed a not ble piece of policy under pretence of Reconciling the Covenant in one Article to Episcopacy; to invalidate the whole, and expose it to vulgar contempt; but if it be sinfull, let it go: His Rhetorick is Angelical, but let us try the strength of his Reasons, unto the loosing of St. Peters bonds.

The main strength of what he doth suggest against the Covenant, lieth in the miscarried Circumstances which do relate un- The general to the impoling, and taking of it; (viz.) its defect in point scope of his of imposing power; the terror and tumults with which it was arguments. inforced; the policy and humour from whence it did arise; and the novelty or unacquaintedness of it as to our English laws and Constitutions, or the like: Unto all which I shall only defire the Dr. on ferious and fecond thoughts, to give a candid; clear, rational, and Scriptural refolve, to this general Con of Conscience (Viz.) if an Oath, Vow or Covenant, containing in it matter good and lawfull, (though not necessary and positive duty) be imposed by fraud, (as was that of the Gibeonites) or force, and factions, Army, and tumules (as that of Zedekiab to Nebuchadnezzar) without any formal authority, other than a mans or peoples own voluntary Act and lubmiffion, which is new unto, and unacquainted with the Laws and Conftitutions accustomed in the place, and to the people, and in fomething repugnant to Gods direction be by reason of any. or all these miscarried Circumstances, void and null? I am much mistaken if he cross not the common resolution of Divines and Casuists, if he conclude the Affirmative; but let us consider his fuggestions singly, and so we shall best try their itrength.

And his first on-set begins with an I might shrewdly batter First arenthe Covenant, and so he affaults it with that, which (I must mear, the Go. confess) is indeed a battering Ram; and being admitted, will en- venants dedanger to beat down all that hath been done in this Kingdom to authority, fince 1641, arraigning, censuring, and condemning all the pro-page 6. ceedings of the two Houses of Parliament; in which, I shall leave his prudence and discretion to be judged by such, as are fensible how far his Majesties Honour, the Kingdoms satisfaction and establishment in the desired peace, is endangered by so much as a Dispute thereof: But the strength of it lieth in this, the defectiveness of (and so the invalidity of the Covenant) as to any lawful, conftant, or compleat authority, capable to bind the Subjects and people of England, in any Court of Conscience or Judicature, in which nothing can have any permanent bond, or tie in Law, except Gods Word without the Kings consent, as the vow of a servant.

fon, daughter or mife, &c.

This I must confess is a fierce affault, and specious argument ; vet methinks I finde a Covenanter fortified against its force, by

the Wool-facks of these considerations.

First, The two Houses of Parliament (and those two had more then ordinary power) are co-ordinate, and sharers in the Legistation of England; and so a constant, lawful Authority : It is Sir, worth your Observation, how warily in page 18. your Casuist binds the King to protect and preserve his Episcopacy, but barrs his change of it, without the counfel and defire of the two Houses whom he judgeth Propitiousto it.

Secondly, This Covenant was ordered by the Parliament during their Seffion: And although I will not determine, that an Order or Ordinance of one or both Houses, can have the force and permanent tie of a Law (which yet among us will admit a dispute by the ablest Lawyers, and many purchasers will plead for with vigour) yet I think it will not be ordinarily denied, that it may lay the Subjects under a permanent bond; and I conceive, these are terms very different; that is a bond on Conscience, which is not not a Law and Tie in Judicature: Orders of Parliament, directing an Act presently to be executed will not I hope be denied obedience; or the execution be voided by the after Diffolution of it, especially where it is in its own nature permanent and abiding. An Oath is in it felf, natura rei, a permanent bond, once laid it ever binds; a Parliament are a power fufficiently compleat to impose and enjoyn it; if they see cause to bring a Colledge or Corporation under any special Oath, by an Order during their Session, I hope no Englishman will question their Authority; nor Divine deny the Obligation of the Oath; nor the one or other determine this tie to be discharged; when the Parliament is dissolved.

Thirdly, The Supposed defect bath been fince Supplied; and His Majesties consent or affent fully expressed, by His swearing the same Solemn League, and by Oath promising His Royal Affent to all Acts and Ordinances enjoyning the fame; and by His Royal Declaration of the 16th of August, 1650. declaring His full perswasion of the justice and equity of every the Heads and Articles of the Solemn League and Covenant; and fo far,

justifying the taking of it by His Subjects, that He graciously professes to know no friends but the friends of the Covenant; and no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant: Hereby, whatever desect was in the first imposing of it, is sully made up to salten it on the people now it is taken; so that by reason of this subsequent Act, I may say if by Moses he will be judged, to Moses he shall go; and admitting his parallel (which some chubt, will not in this case square) if the Father, Master, Husband, in the day that he beareth the vow of the Wise, Child, or Servant, bold his peace, (contradict it not) much more if He justifie, allow, and commend it, as His most Sacred Majesty hath done, on most serious and deliberate thoughts, in a most publick and solemn Declaration, it shall stand, and be established.

But Sir, suppose the Dr. can pull down this defence, and manage his battery, so as to make a breach on the Covenant; yet before he enter, I must found a parlee with him; and defire him to tell us whether the qu'd fieri non debuit, factum valet, pleaded to defend the wanton Baptisme of Children, and hally Baptisme of Women, be not more really pleadable in our case: To make the worst of it," a tumultuous Assembly conevene, and come before us with Sword and Scepter, and fay "they are a Parliament, and have lawfull, constant, and comcopleat authority, to commandus; and therefore will put an Oath and Covenant upon us; and filly, inconfiderate we, are of not so well skill'd in politicks, or acquainted with the confi-"tutions of our Country, to detect their fallacy, but think all " authority is within those walls, and obedience must be yielded " to what is there commanded, and so we are beguiled into the "Oath; May we thence cry out A Cheat? and fo cast off the "Covenant? and conclude it cannot binde? I doubt fuch Doctrine embraced will expose us to a three yeares Famine.

His first battery was so fiercely made, that it recoileth with a more than an ordinary Rumour; and makes him ensorce it, pa. 6. with an I might Eccho (as indeed he hath done, for I find no certain sound in what he saith) the violence and noise of those times in which it was batched in England, and brought forth by

Violence : f times.

the midwifry of tumults, and armies, of engaged, yea, enraged Parties and Factions; All which, it is well known, was not fo great or loud, but that the Lords and Commons in Parliament, the Commissioners of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scots land, with an Affembly of grave and Learned Divines, did after Solemn Humiliation, and feeking God, ferious confultation on, and fober debates, digest and determine the Covenant : and both matter and form doth bespeak it to have been no rash or preposterous product of Fancie : But suppose the worst ; will the violence of the times put a nullity and non-obligation on the Oath? How comes the sentence to be so severe against Zedikiah? He hath despised the Oath, and broken the Covenant. he shall not escape, Ezek. 17. 18. Was not this Oath extorted by Armies without, and tumults within? and yet is it so austerely binding e whatever Turks, Papists, or Politicians fay, shall a Chri ian and Proteilant suggest a nullity of the Oath, because of the violence of the times in which it was

His next suggestion is a sound no lesse uncertain; he faith he His third indi-might urge the novilty and partiality of the Covenant as to the red answer to English Laws and Genious: That he might, and might when the Covenant he hath urged it, explain it; for the matter of it is neither new, nor partial; it hath been often heard, and endeavoured in England; in the very point of Episcopacy, the removal of En-

to Laude before his treabath.

glands Hierarchy hath been fued for from * Queen Elizabethe Whites Epiffle time, downward unto this day: and the Covenant fecures all Interests without partiality; his furmife of forrain influence, invinfion, and obtrusion, calls for proof; and then it will but tile of the Sab-little relieve him; for an Oath enforced by forraign Conquest. or couzenage: new to the Nation, and contrary to its Lawes. binds the conscience : and the supposed contrariety of the Law. is of no force to them, who conclude a Power in the Parliament to put a period to those Lawes, and a Solemn Oath or Covenant sworne by the Legislators, and by them put on the people, feem to be the most full discharge of all feeming-contrary Laws that can be imagined; especially when the Royal affent is

His fourth fug . Publickly given to it. He proceeds, It might feem odious, to reflect upgeftion in his on the Covenant, as to the effects, and unblest confeindirect anquences, which like black shadows, have attended its appeafwer.

Ting

ring and prevailing in England; what bavocks improperities. e. as before we have noted: This Reflection I confess, cannot but feem odious; but not to the Covenant, unless these fad effects, and unbleft consequences, be found to attend it, as its proper brood and naturall iffue, not accidental fequels, produced by its genuine tendency to them, not by wicked mens rejuctancy to order and piety, or perfidy as to what they had covenanted; but the odium will of its own accord reflect on him who is a Covenanter, and yet exposeth his Solemn League and Covenant to vulgar scorn and contempt; who is a man of justice and sobriety, and yet calumniateth the Covenant with those sad effects which had their being and progress before the Covenant it felf. Sure he dreams, that feeth the shadow, before the substance is in being; and who is a Divine detesting the plea of success as the Judge or Rule of any cause, and yet maketh it the measure of the Solemn League and Covenant.

Nor can his next suggestion be considered unto the encrease sth Suggestion of his credit; in which he tells us, He will not insist on the in his indicate basslings of the Covenant, before it was adult or many yeares answer. p. 7.

old, howe it was foon made a Nehusotan, and reduced to nothing by counter and cross engagements after it had served as one of the great Rocks for the King's shipwrack, and been wa-

ter'd with the King's blood, &c.

Truly Sir, had I been at your Doctors elbow when he wrote this, I would have advised him to have been so far from insisting. that he should not have inferted this, which he calls Baffing of the Covenant: For Sir, will not every one cry shame, that shall hear him fay the Covenant was one of the great Rocks which hipmrackt the King? and the Covenant was watered with the King's blooded Who can confider the King's reluctancy to the Covenant was not fo much as inferted into His Charge, not once taken notice of by Bradfham, amongst those many reasons by him produced, to justifie that most execrable Sentence pronounced against Him? Who observeth the Resolves of the Partiament, that his Majesties Concessions (though He refused the Covenant) were farisfactory? and that until the faithful Covenanters were pulled out of the House by military violence, and the Band of the Covenant broken by the raging lufts of fome

Tome proud perjured Apostates, there neither was nor could bethe least proceeding against His Most Sacred Majesty, and ver conclude Him shipwrackt by the Covenant? because some that had taken the Covenant did perpetrate that wickedness, will any Rules of Justice or Religion charge it on the Covenant? because the Covenant was violated by force, suppressed by power, and flighted by policy, was it therefore vacated? when? by whom? or with what Arguments of Right reason, or Religion. was it ever baffled? was not its vigour made visible by the London Ministers Representation and Vindication? was pot its bound on conscience made legible by the Lancashire and Cheshire plea for Non-Subscribers, and the testimonies of the Ministers in the feveral Counties of England, published with their names subscribed? and was it not indeed imprinted by the invasion and divaltation of Scotland? the Sequestration and sufferings even unto imprisonment and death of many in England, pursuing His Majesties restitution on the account of the Covenant? How can the Doctor confess, Doubeless the sence of the Covenant hath lately quickned many mens consciences in their allegiance to the King, fo as to bring Him (as David) home with infinite joy and triumph, page 25. and yet here complain that it was fo easily vacated in point of its express Loyalty for the King'strefervation? If it were ever vacated, when, or how was it renewed and re-inforced? If I may speak it without vanity, had not the firm bond of the Covenant vigoroully contended in the point of Lovalty, against the violent powers which bare it down. His late Majesties Martyrdom had not broken forth with such huftre: nor His now Majesty (whom God long preserve) been restored to that estate of Honour in which we now enjoy Him; fo that the Antecedent of this suggested Argument will be most positively denied.

But if we should admit it, I cannot but wonder to hear a Divine say and inferre upon it; If it were so casily vacated in point of Loyalty, I do not see, how it can be so binding against E-piscopacy: I think it to be no good Logick and worse Divinity, from some mens evasion, and violation, to infer a vacation and non-obligation; or from a vacation of it in one point, to infer its von-obligation as to others, sin, indeed is apt but it must not be allowed to engender sin; by God grace gradu-

all violation shall not effect in me a total rejection of the Covenant.

His fixth suggestion seems indeed to be of more force than the 6th Suggestion former (viz.) The Covenam (if so interpreted) must needs answer p. 8.

grate fore upon, and pierce to the quick those former lawfall Oaths, which had preposeless the fouls and consciences of most of us in England, not onely of Subjects, as those of Allegiance and Supremacy, besides that of Ministeriall, Canonicall obedience to our lawfull Superiours, but even the conscience of the late King as bound by bis Coronation-Oath, &c. From which Oaths, as we know no absolution, so neither can there be any superfetation of such a contradictory vow and Covenant mithout apparent perjury: To which I offer to consideration.

That the distaissaction of His late Majesty of Blessed Memory, (and in nothing more blessed, than in the conscience He made of the Oath of God upon Him, and the charge He hath lest His now glorious Majesty, That if God brought Him to His own Right on hard conditions, He should be carefull to perform what he should promise) that is now beyond dispute; and His Majesty that now is, not onely free from those Fetters which restrained His Royal Father, but also is engaged in the same League and Covenant,

and this supposed contradiction cast out of doors.

And as to the contradiction of the Covenant to the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, non constan, it appears not; nor would it ever (asit hath done) have quickned the hearts of some, to suffer for, and to struggle under their Loyalty, untill His Majesties Honorable Restitution, if it were so repugnant to them: Let its contradiction in this point be noted, and we shall speak to it.

And as to that of Canonical obedience to our lawful Superiors, its contradiction is suggested with an If it be so interpreted; Let the interpretation be cleared, before the contradiction be oncluded and argued; for if that Oath did binde an obedience to Bishops as an Hierarchie and invested with paternall authority, and as a distinct and superiour order of Ministry, and its unexplained of cetera included more; a grating upon, and piercing to the quick this Oath, was no other but duty; and then the Argument is of no more force, save to speak the fretting of their spirites, who soolishly sware they know not what, and now desire to maintain it, more for fancy, than

confeience; for it is not yet proved that such are lawful superiors in Church or State.

His seventh Answer or Argument, is ab incommodo, the inconvenience (which must be very great and visible if it discharge an Oath) and here he tells us, It must needs run us upon a great Rock of not onely Novelty but Schisme, &c. Un-

to which I defire Sir, you will please to observe.

1. The loss we are at by the uncertainty of the object, he urgeth this Argument with his universal discretive, all Episcopal order and government. We must Sir, have a clear Notion of Episcopal Order and Government, before we can with careshun the Schissin; nor is it explained to us by the general terms of Practice and Indgement of the Catholick Church in all ages and places till of latter dayes; for we know, that superiority and paternal power over other Biscops and Ministers, did too soon appear; and too universally spread after the Apostles days, unto the advancement of the man of sin, though it prevailed not without great resuctancy, and its removal hath been aimed at and

endeavored by the Reformation.

Again, must we take it for granted, that conformity is essential to communion with the Church? and agreement in discipline unavoidably necessary to union? Certainly is so, we must make the very form of Discipline an Article of our Creeds. And truly Sir, the just divinum, or Apostolical institution of the form he seems to plead for, lieth too much in the dark for such a conclusion, and therefore the most himself tells us of it is, That it looks like an immediate institution of Christ, preceptive and explicite, or tacite and exemplary, pag. 13. but he knows not whether; yet well knows, simile non est idem; and therefore he here calls it but an ancient tradition and universal observation; and then the 34th Article of the Church of England secureth us from this Rock of Schisme, whilst it teach

Religion in and atterly alike, &c. In Politicks (we well know) difference from held fame Kingdom, and Communion in the fame Government, It is no strange thing to see Corporations in England governed by their twelve Jurors, without a Mayor and Court of Aldermen, but it would be thought very strange from thence to

charge:

charge them with sedicion! and is must be a jus divinum, and immediate institution, not Apostolical tradition, or Universal observation, must be us from the priviledges, any more than the di-

Clated properties common to all policy.

Moreover Sir, if this form of Discipline (which he noteth some few Reformed Churches of later dayes want, though they do not contemne, but approve and venerate in others) be so necessary a Nerve, that the abjuration and exclusion of it runs us on such a Rock of Schisse, I see not how those Churches (though their want be through necessary of times, and distress of affairs, put upon them) can be owned in the union of the Catholique Church; for elescities unto union must not onely be reverenced in others, but enjoyed by themselves.

It is Sir, worth enquiry, what he mears by the Catholique Chareb; for belides the vulgar appropriation of it to Rome, and affection our late Prelates had to that term, his Note That the abolifing of Episcopacy, is no small wall of partition newly set up to keep all Papists from due Reformation, makes me jeasous the Casfendrian accommodation is yet in the Bishops intention and endeavors, upon which they would not put that reproach, scandal, scruple, or affront, as to be without Bishops of paternal authority; but it so, happy is that Church whose Reformation carrieth them surther off Romes Superstition, in discipline, and

worthip, as well as doctrine.

His eighth Answer or Suggestion is a Rhetorical swada; and Instituating plea, which hath wholly lost its force by the uncertainty of the object: If conscience be erroneous, we shall easily grant that it is equal, and ingenuous, Loyal, and Religious, to reduce and confine it; which yet must not, and will not be straiter then the proper and genuine sence of the Covenant will Erroneous admit; but as for that extravagant, disloyal, unlawful, enor-conscience mom, and Schismatical sence, against which he declaimes, in must be rectiwhich it could neither be lawfully taken, nor honestly kept; it must be determined by an Explication of his All-Existopacy, and full demonstration of a sence so qualified, before there can be any more strength in this Rhetorick, than in his Reasons: I must Sir, be free to tell him again, the Covenant doth expressely binder against the Fabrick, and very form of the late Hierarchy in England, not its abuses, excesses, or defess onely: though not

against the use of any thing which was good, and fit to be used in the fucceeding form to be established; nor do I understand it to be fuch an unreasonable and irreligious (Ametrie) transport for men to Covenant against all the right use of things that are good (but not necessary) because of the abuse incident to them, as he doth fuggest, though the Covenant is not guilty of such obligation: But more of this in his direct Answer.

Having affaulted the Covenant with his fierce battery, and

The Cove-Teftamegr.

alarumed it with his frightful Ecchoes, he proceeds to level to mant authori- the ground all those fair, but fallacious pretences (as he deemes only pretend-them) drawn to fortifi the Covenant from Scripiures examples . ed by exam-werein the Fewes fometimes felemnly renewed Covenant with God. ples in the old &c. And the main and onely Morterpiece he lets flie, is, That it was that express Covenant which God bimfelf had first made with them in Horch and Mount Sinai, punctually prescribed by God to Moles, and by Moses (as their Supream Governour or King) imposed upon them; this they sometime renewed after they had broken it by their Acoflacy to falle and ftrange gods : Unto the enforcement whereof. we must defire the Doctor to demonstrate, That the Law of Mofes or Covenant in Horeb was not onely the Rule and Dictate of what matter they should Covenant, but the express Covenant which was, or did consist in the exact recital . and Repetition of that Law of the ten Commandements, as the very form thereof; fo as that they never varied or altered it, according to their special defections, in the particular points of their lies; and that this was the formal Government between God and the people in the times of Joshuab, and before If raels defection from God; or that this was the Covenant between God, the people, and King, and between the people and their King, in the dayes of Jehoiadab: Or that this was the express Covenant made in the point of the Sabbath, and the putting away frange wives in the times of Nebemiab. feveral occasions, and special obligations, do bespeak them to have been Covenants, conformed as to the matter of them. to some part of the ten Commandements; but as to their forme and manner of expression, to have been square by themfelves.

But whatever was the matter of form of their Covenanting,

limagine it will not be denied, that the taking or renewal thereof was their own political Act, done by their own will and power at the time, and on the occasion their own condition did require and dictate; and that many times without the content of the King then wiling them, and to our Covenant (warranted for matter by the Word of God) is by their example justified, to have been a pious and prudent action within our own power to perform though for the form of it, it be not any Divine dictate, or Soveraign prescription, yet better to be esteemed, than the petty composition

ferior of a few politick men.

Nor is there any ficengthin that; we were not Apoffatized to falls and frangegods; unless he will affirm no defection short of Appliacy from the true, to falle gods, is a fufficient ground or occasion on which to renew Covenant; which I think neither right reason or Religion will allow; shall not gradual defections be restrained, and total Apostacy be superseded by a featonible Solemne League and Covenant? Surely then Felbuah was too preposterous, in working Ifrael into Covenant with God, on a jealoulie or rational conjecture of their future Apolacy; and had England no need to Covenant, when they were posting in doctrine, especially in worship and discipline, to Romes Superfiction and Tyranny? Can any man confider the corruptions continued in England fince the Reformation. and so defended, that nothing but a soveraign Remedy could remove them? nay, the very Retrogradations of the Reformution, by a return of many expelled Rites, and Prelatical power, and fay, because the yet owned the true God, the had no need to Covenant? If covenanting bean Act within mans. own power and choice; and defection from God and his wayes iuchoated or suspected be a just ground and occasion. Englands covenanting is fully fortified by Scripture and Reason, and the pretences thereof no way found fallacious.

His last Suggestion in his indirect Answer is of no force; for admit that there is no precept or pattern for such a Covenant in all the New Testament (which directs us as Christians, and leaveth us to the Dictates of Nature, and discoveries of the Old Testament, in more publike and political Acts which concern us as a Kingdom, or Church National) or in the succeeding ages of the Church; Will it therefore follow, that such co-

venanting is finfal? the Primitive Churches never were of fuch extent in the enjoyment of fuch power, under fuch publique defections, and in fuch capacity of covenanting as we have been. Must we enquire what hath been done in the Christian Churches to do that and no more, without regard to what may be done. the condition of the Church requiring it? may not the very Lique de Sain in France, and Oath et carera in England, though firful in their matter, be good Spurs and Directions in Christian-policy? May not the fame means used to corroborate ims piety, be lawfully and prudentially used to frengthen true Religion and Reformation? Why may not Popish policy teach Protestants to combine by Covenant, as Protestant piety and prudence did dictate to them a Confirmation in Religion by Catechifing? Courses common to men are not to be condemn-

ed because used by wicked men to wicked ends.

Baptismal Covenant, no bar League and Covenant.

None Sir, do deny the Covenant made in Baptisme to be the ones ly new Evangelical Covenant to all Christians, broken by wilful and presumptuous sinnes, and renewed by repensance, and the participation of the Lords Supper : But it feemes unto me a frange transport of so grave and serious a Divine, to oppose it unto the Solemne League and Covenant (that piece of policy, rather than piety, as he is pleased to termit) The inconsistency of them ! to the Solema must confess is not to me visible; sure I am Baptismal Vows are no bar, but may be provocations to Solemn Covenanting to and with God; Let the matter of this Covenant be exactly scanned, and if it be in any one Article found repugnant to, or different from the Covenant made in Baptism, we will renounce the whole: I hope it will not be denyed, that Baptized Nations and Churches may (in their publique and politique capacities) renew and amplifie that Covenant which was made in Baptisme: And truly Sir, the Solemne League and Covenant feems to me so little to differ from our Baptismal Covenant, that it is no hard matter to resolve it into those three grandHeads we are (inftructed) were promifed in our names when we were Baptized; and then all the difference will be in this; the Baptismal Covenant was personal and private; this publique and politique.

But I pray let us note his specification of the difference he suggesteth, and the reasons of this inconsistency he urgeth; which he supposeth to be a uisa sarus, crying out, How vastly different from this Sacred Covenant, this late piece of policy, more than piety is: and how little the true Covenant of a Christian binds him by his Baptisme or Repentance, or the Eucharist against all Episcopal Government, I leave all sober-minded Christians to indge. Truly Sir, his universal particle All, may make something look like a vast difference, if we could but understand the species he would pitch upon, as excepted by his discretive term; but the uncertainty of the object is that we cannot but flumble at in all the conclusions of his suggested Answers: Methinks fuch an out-cry of wast difference should have been warranted by a clear Antithesis; Opposites cannot appear but by their opposition; and yet he specifies no one Article different from our Baptismal Covenant; but sophistically evades with an How little do Bapti for repensance, or the Eucharift, bind against all Episcopal government: These may Sir, very little binde against it, and yet the Covenant and they be at no vast difference; for the question is not, how little the true Covenant in them agitated binds against all Episcopal government; but how much it binds to any? He is the first Divine I have found to plead our Baptisme as the bond of Canonical obedience, and defence of Episcopacy; I never did imagine Discipline and order to be the express positive condition of Baptisme, and the Christian Cou nant thereby made qua Christian, the only new Evangelical Covenant; but especially this species of it, Epife:pacy. I hope his jus divinum will be made as clear as the Doctrine of the Trinity, whil'st it is, and must be owned as the absolute condition of Baptism, and nerve of union with the Church: Yet Sir, give me leave to tell the Doctor, if the late Hierarchy or Episcopacy of England (which he seems to advance as the late honour of the Ministry, and encouragement of Learning and Religion) be (as on an easie discussion it may be) found to be of the Pomps and Vanities of this micked world; we are not only a little, but very much bound against ir: for our God-fathers and God-mothers did promise in our behalf, That we should for sake them, as the Divel, and all his works; and then he may well imagine, all sober-minded Christians

Christians must judge, there is a vast difference, between Rap ifm; and fuch Epifcoracy; and that he is acted with a firong zeal, that will by our Baptifin bind unto it, who yet declared it to be but a

tradition and universal observation.

Of the power of ordination by Bishops.

But he addes a Reason to enforce it; and that is, Since both the power of ordaining Ministers, and by them to conscrate and celebrate both Sacraments, was ever derived from, and by Billions of the Church, as the chief Conservators, Cifterns, and Conduits of all Ecclesiastical Authority, and Ministerial power. from the very Apastles the first Bishops of the Church, Acts 1.8cc. But Sir, Is it determined and agreed on without controversie, that the power of Ordination was ever derived by and from Bishops (in his sence paternal Bishops) above, and distinct from. Presbyters? that so it must be concluded No Ordination by. Bishops, no Minister, no Consecration or Celebration of either Sacrament: And so where these Conservators, Conduits, Ciferns were never laid, or have been any way cut off, Ecclefiastical Authority, and Ministerial Power never came, or is removed, and quite gone; for without doubt this water must run in its own Pipes; were it not for that subordination and dependance of ordinary Ministers, Shepherds, and Rulers unto, and upon the Angels, Presidents, and chief Fairers of his Episcopal Authority he at after noteth; I ihould by his adjunct Chief, have conceived that he would grant, Some [mall Pipes had run from the Apostles tim sin non with Christ our chief Bishop, and derived Ecclesiast cal Ashority, and Ministerial power in the eacency of his Bishops; which, if he deny, the Church of Rome will trium; hin his Episcopal union with her; but the Reformed Churches can give him little thanks for this Church annihilating Notion.

Again, Is it clear that Episcopal and Apostolical Ministry is idem ordo, the same kind, distinct from that of Pastars and Teachers? it must be imagined so to be, whil'st Bishops only as Biskops, lay so much claim to the immediate succession to the Aposiles . That the Aposiles had an Episcopacy, we cannot dery; for we read of it in Acts 1. 20. Nor I think can it be reasonably denied, that the feeding-ruling Elders at Ephesus were Bish ps; for so Saint Paul called them, as consecrated, by the Holy Ghost, All's 20.28, and immediate successors to the Apostes; yet it is not evident that they were all Angels. Presidents, and chief Fathers; and such as set Timothy oven them as their Bishop, must needs deny them so to have been; and then Sir, some that wanted this paternal Authority, must be consessed Cisterns of Ministerial Power, and Ecclepassical Authority, and immediate successors to the Apostes; and so the Bond of Baptisme binds to Gaspel-Ministers, as the explicite and preceptive institution of Christ; whilst Episcopal order can claim no more but tradition; and that very disputable; the Prelatical Divines of our Nation would not be thus tyed to the observation of the Lords day; nor I to the observation of Easter; yet both these (especially the fiest) look as like an immediate institution of Christ, preceptive and explicite, or tacite and exemplars, as any order or kinde of Episcopacy he suggesteth to be

upheld by the bond of baptisme.

As to what the Doctor addeth concerning the figual and intolerable injuries offered to the persons of such excellent Bishops as England lately had, and still may have, and the abatement of the honour of this whole Churth and its Ministry, Ge. I wish it may be considered. That the Covenant is not levelled against any Real Excellency in the Bishops, but an unwarrantable greatneß, power, and authority, affumed by them, or attributed to them; which conferred an unfitting honour on the Church, and then the exclusion of it is no injury; and the mighty abatement thereof is a positive duty: I cannot think but that learning, and the due konour of the Chirch, may and will be best encouraged by the vailing of that pompous, worldly flate, and wicked superiority her Governours had obtained; the Churches perspicuity seems not to me so necessary, that it must needs shine in Lawn Sleeves, and succession of Bishops of paternal Authority over their brethren; nor know I to what Churches, fave those of Rome (who make the Succession of their Bishops the fole and fingular Note of the true Church) a Superfedeas of fuch. Episcopal order) how ancient or venerable soever it be deemed). can be so scandalous as is suggested; I am sure few of the Reformed Churches see cause so to judge it; and then Sir, we find little force in this his complicated Answer.

Thus Sir, I have made bold to consider the Doctors indirect answer and arguments, wherein he endeavoureth to shake and

Subvert the whole Fabrick of the Solemn League and Covenant ; and in them (to my judgement) there is so little frength of Reason, or true Religion, that it affords but a poor ground for his infulting and triumphant discharge in Page 13. Thefethings being thus premised, are sufficient (as I conceive) to abate the Edge and Rigour of the Covenant, and to ravel that Cabel and Bond of Religious Obligation: For Sir, notwithstanding his suppolal (afferted) in good earnest there is neither Law of God or man requiring, imposing, or comprobating any such Covenant: The Boanerge Bes will find cause to thunder out terrour against Covenant-breaking, left Rhesorical flourishes without freugth of Reasons, should release the consciences of the vulgar from the power of Religious Bonds.

fwer.

It may be Sir, we shall find more strength in the Doctors His direct an down-right stroaks, than in his back-blows : His batteries in his indirect answers attempted, have bespoken his purpose to break in funder the Sacred Bond of the Covenant: His power to effect it in point of Episcopacy; must appear in his direct Anfwer; wherein (we thank him) he looks on the Covenant in the foftest fense that can be made, as it is a voluntary vom or religious Bond, which sprivate men spontaneously took upon the nfelves, &c. But yet he suggesteth it was taken by very few, not one fourth part of the Nation now living; and those few made to take it by the terors of Prison, Plunder, Sequestration, and the like wracks: Unto which (before we observe his particular reconciling Answers, relating to the special point of Episcopacy) I. propound to consideration, that

The pancity of Covenanters will not discharge its obligation : be there never fo fem, I hope those fem may be free in afferting, and must be faithful in adhering to the Covenant; in which their confidence may be the greater, for that His most Sacred Majesty

comes in to make up the number.

But if the Doctor faw with my eyes, he would not suppose the number to be small; if all Tables were as legible as those of the Lords and Commons, I believe their number would be found many more than the fourth part of the Nation. But can any confiderable observer take notice the Covenant was imposed on. and submitted unto, by all forts and degrees of men, in all Counties. Cities, and Towns tendred (and fince testified by their publick

publick subscriptions) by the most Ministers in the several Counties, unto their individual Congregations, and that under the success of War, which usually extendeth a Covenant unto all who come under its influence, and yet (without the supposal of a very great mortality) imagine, not the fourth part of the Nation to have taken the Covenant. The Doctor sure judgeth by such with whom he converseth; and I easily believe they are not a fourth part of the Nation; yet methinks he himself being to be reckoned into the number, might well conjecture them to be more.

But again Sir, the capacity of the Covenanters is more confiderable than the number; and will make it a question well worth confideration, Whether it be not obligatory to the whole Nation? When I confider the Lords and Commons in Parl ament assembled; and under that notion and capacity swearing the Covenant, as the collective body of the Nation, though not near a fourth part in number; I am apt to think it looks very like a National Obligation: For I know not how they can take pardons, if they may not make promifes in our names; especially when the affent of His Most Sacred Majesty is made so legible by His Royal Subjection to the same Solemn League and Covenant. I am much mistaken if the Outh of Zedekich and the Princes (without popular delegates) did not bind the people of Israel: I hope the Doctor will be more wary, than to plunge the whole Kingdom into perjury: That there was any fuch Logick as Prisons, Plunder, and Sequestrations, to enforce the Covenant, I am not well-pleased; I hope he had more fortitude than to suffer his Reason and Religion to be so captivated, he knoweth the will cannot be compelled; and I imagine he will not make extertion by force, any more than fraud abfolve the Obligation, and warrant the recession or violation of an Oath; he knows that Nature and Scripture do teach the contrary, whatever was Cicero's affection to him, he knows wherein he commends Pomponius the Tribune as to his extorted Oath; nor will a Casuist deny, Juramentum meta extortum, to bind; greater force can befiege none to the making of an Oath: nor greater fury from God follow any for breaking the Oath so forced, than that which befell Zedekiah to the King of Babylon.

But let us see by what strength of Reason he worketh our release from this zolum ary vow, that we also may be free-men;

The first is a clear sophism or charm to vulgar conception: They

and it is produced by leveral suggestions; whereof

Words in oaths

are not (faith he) the bare words; of the Covenant, which as charmes, can binde any mans confesence to, er against anything: It is very true; for they may be historically read, or repeated by such who are not capable of, or concerned in the obligation: But Sir, if (as in our case) the words be uttered as expressions of the mind, and declarations of the purpose and refolve of the heart to engage God and men to expectation of performance, I hope they then binde; and that, not only because the matter is just, true, and good, but also because declared: Is not engagement of expectation in others unto the Obligation of our selves the end of speech in Promises and Oaths? whence else is that Caution of Casuists, That the words of an oath be plane, and clear, and commonly used and understood, that the fallacy thereof may fall? I wonder at the Dosfors Antithelis of words unto Reason , Instice , Truth , Religion , and Dury . which we deny not morally and really to oblige men either by Gods gen ralor particular precepts: but yet I cannot believe them to be as Iron or Adamantine bands to chase good and do it to hate evil and eschemit, long before the withs and Cords of mans combining or tying are put upon them by themfelves or others: This founds in my ears tike new Divinity, and morality too; oh the folly of Nations, who confide more in the Withs and Cords of words, promises, Covenants, than in the Iron and Adamantine bonds of Truth, Justice, and Duty! I must confess, I was so foolish, as to fancy my self bound to an A& because good, just, true, duty; but much faster bound, because promised or sworne; as d I have known many men bozgle at an Oath or Promise, and fear to break it, who would make no bones of Reason, Truth, Justice, Dury, but snap them in funder like a fingle tie; and methinks the Scripture placeth a great deale of strength in the words of a Vow or Oath, Deut. 22. 23. That which is gone out of thy lips thou shalt keep and performe, as thou hast vowed it willingly unto the Lord thy God: for thou haft spoken it with thy mouth : And sure there was mit Adamanine strength in the words of Tephtah, which put him

into that agony, and constrained that out-cry, I have opened my nouth unto the Lord, and cannot go back? Judges I 1. 35. If Oaths and Promites are but Withs and Cords, I marvel at the course and customes of Nations to lay them each on other, as the only grounds of considence; and I much more wonder, mens faith should be more fixed in Gods Promises, than Properties; and God, though under the Iron bonds of his own mercy, justice, truth; yet, for assurance sake, should bring himself under the Withs and Cords of Promise and Oath, and then tell us by two immutable things wherein it is impossible God should be; we should have strong

confolation, Hebr. 6. 18.

His second suggestion is to me no less strange than the first ; Every mans (viz.) Nor can any such Covenant bind any man in any con- oath binds by [cientions bond, mertly by the power of a mans own imagina- his own imagition: I am fure it can never bind him by the power of an-nation, other mans imagination. Oaths ought to be in words fignificant, whose sence may be obvious to every common capacity; fourthing and shitting the sence, and signification of an Oath; is the snare and perplexity of Conscience, policy of Hell, and Sophiliry of the Divel: Men mult be careful to understand every Religious Tie and Bond; and not lift to conceive by prejudice and trefumption; yet if his own imagination be not that which must guide and bind him, I am mistaken; I expect men to see with their own eyes, and be javed by their own faith; and did ever conceive discourse, interpretation, instruction, and argumentation, to intend, not a Magisterial Imposition, but information of the mind, which might engender a right imagination for men to follow. I know not Sir, what your Cault may make of an Erroneous Conscience; but Dr. Am s hath caught us. Conscientia quamois errans, semper ligat; & ille peccat qui agit contra Conscientiam; an erroneous Conscience doth alwayes bind, to that he fins, who acts contrary thereunto; which cannot be unless the Covenant bind by the power of a mans own imag. nation.

His third Answer I do confess is drawn with Tome considerable Orths bind Arength; for no Covenant can bind us to the injury of anothers no to the in-Right; Liberty, Power, or lawful Authority, private or jury of another publick; except such as are sui jury, involved in himself; and the per excident, are hindred, and hurt in and by them, which I

el eve

believe he understands: but Sir, it loseth its strength in the assumption; for it appears not that the extirpation of Prelacy as it is expressed in the Covenant, doth take away the liberty, power, and lawfull anthority of King, Bishops, or Parliament; himself tells us, the Covenant was levelled against the despoticum tyrannicum Regimem; and I have before noted, that it is the unwarrantable pomp and power, and unlawful anthority, and superiority of the Bishops above other Ministers, which is excluded, and to be extirpated by the Covenant, untill the Object is agreed on, the force of this Argument may well fall.

Yet give me leave to tell the Doctor, it is worth his enquiry. whether the power of the King for restinition, and of the Bishops for execution and administration of Episcopacie (lately aced in England, and novv endeavoured to be reftored) be not fully and actually, by a just, lawfull, and compleat Authority, abolifica ed and taken away by the statute of 17 (aroli, repealing that whole branch of the statute primo Elizabetha, which authorized the jurisdiction of Episcopacy; and barreth his most facred Majefty from giving Commissions thereunto, and forbidding all Ranks and Orders Ecclefiaffical from acting upon any fuch Commission, in any matter or thing whatsoever : Sir. most men think that this power was lawful, and the Hierarthy of England, was (ni juris to, and within the power of King, Lords, and Commons; as d this discharge of Episcopacy to have been no injury, and to have been acted long before the Covenant did exift; and fo the Covenant was but an enforcement of this Law; and then Sir, if there be a Parliament which may look upon Bishops and Episcopacy with a more propitious eye. than those who beheld it through the Presbyterian spectacles it will be worth enquiry, whether the Covenant (as is before noted) be not a National Covenant, and bindeth not the Parliament from propounding, and praying, and his most facted Majefly from affenting onto the re-establishment thereof? and fo whether the prefent actings of some Bisbops and Doans be not without Legal and just authority; and the imposing or endeavouring to return that (by Statute) abolished, and(by Covenant) excluded Fabrick, be not a transgression of the Law. and of unging the Nation into perjury? which how confiftent it is with the honour of King or Kingdom, let wife men .judge.

The Doctors fourth, fifth, and eighth Suggestions do relate unto the good of Episcopacie; concerning which he supposeth a good, which I must confess I am not clear to admit; as for that good in this, which is common to all Governments (ziz.) the Principles and proportions of Order, Subordination, and Government, we shall not deny it, only conceive it is not here pleadable; for, it may be continued in the Government which shall be established; but as to that of good in it, The goodby Scriptural Precepts and Patterns in the femish Church, Ap Stolique neffe of Econflicution, and Primitive use of Ecclesiastical custome, and hely denied. mens general approbation, and universal imitation, it is under difpute, and not yet obvious, and so not of force to conclude for it; and as to Englands experience of the much good done by it, fince the 'Reformation, it is very obscure, whil'st the best of benefit imaginable to have been reaped by it, hath been to preserve the Reformation in the fate and degree in which King Edward the fixth, and Oneen Elizabeth left it; for wherein hath Episcopacie promoted it? nay, rather wherein hath not Episcopacie (by its silencing and suspending zealous Ministers, excommunicating, imprisoning, banishing, and stigmatizing pions Christians, for no fault at all fave endeavouring it) retarded the progress and perfection of the Reformation? nay, bath not Episcopacie (by its turning our Chancels into railed infancta fanctorums, our Communion-tables into adcred Altars, our glafs windows into popish pictures, and changing our common and established Liturgy into a more compleat conformity to the Popish Masslock for form of administration, Order of worship, Rites and Ceremonies) brought the Reformation into a most palpable and apparent Retrogradation? and hath not then your Doctor cause to tell us it were extream folly, and madness, prophaneness, and blasphemy to cry it down as evill, and engage in Covenant against it as such? truly Sir, to all his supposed good. whereby it is fo beneficial (in his eye) to the being, compleat and regular being of any Church, and none more than England, I hall only oppose that one evill, for which (we etherein it no more) it deferveth to be decried, and extirpated by the Covenant, and that evill I find to inherent to Episcopacy, that this very moderate man cannot divide them, (viz.) the not only degrading all ordinary Paftors and Ministers in the fight of the people (making their Miniflery greatly ineffectual (but also divesting them of all authority . and superiority over the people, preferring the people to, and above them, as their equals and superiours; whereby all their administrations whil'ft in black Coats, are represented to be meer Cyphers, to which

which the Bishops Lawn seeves must be the only figure significant: Sir, can it be less than duty, to extirpate that which doth engross to its felf, and fo enervate in others, all Gofpel Miniftery ? if Cephas and Apollo be no: Ministers of fefus Christ, as well as Paul the Apostle. I fee no cause to chide the Corinthians for their Schisme; but passing his Hypothesis, let us try the ftrength of his Propositions by which he would bind the Covenanter to his Episcopacy, and they found very

ftrangely in my ears.

I. A Covenant can bind no man in conscience against any thing that is in its nature good, or not Morally evil, for this were to bind a Oaths may mans felf and others beyond Gods eternal righteonfness; this is unto me a lesson of new Divinity; for Sir, be pleased to note; that the gainstgood good he speaks of is natural, not moral, much less Theological good; indifferent, it is a good which is not in it self necessary, but may be necessary in its time and place : fo that it is a plain Adiaphoron, a thing indifferent : that to bind men to what is morally evil, is a Covenant of hell, I can easily be convinced; but, that to bind them against what is allowed of God as good and lawful (but not duty necessary untill circumstanced with time and place) should be fo, is fure but one Doctors opinion. I did ever conceive Adiaphorons to be subject to the Magistrates command, and a mans own Covenant, and so distinct from Divine prescription; the eating of flesh is in its nature good, and not morally evil; the Apostle is apt to Covenant with a weak brother never to eat flesh ; is this to bind bimself beyond Gods eternal bonds of righteonsness, or in a Covenant with hell? I mistake such Casuists as I have read, if they conclude not the contrary.

2. No man may vow or Covenant, much leffe keep any such Covenant as he hath taken intentionally against the evil, corruption or abuse of any gainst evil thing, so as to involve the good and usefulness of it, and to condemn that to hindring the use of destruction and extirpation. Truly Sir, I must confess not only judifome good, cial (fuch as is his inftance of the Judg of all the earth in his righteous destribution towards Sodom, and so impertinent to his case) but alfo rational, and Religious discrimination of objects is good, and necesfary, but that a Covenant involving good and usefulness, whil'it it is intended against evil and abuse, is therefore void, and not to be kept, I cannot believe : I have read, Furamentum non effe illicitum aut obligandi vim non amittere praci'e ab boc, quod videtur effe impeditivum majoris boni, an oath is not therefore void, because it hinders a greater (that is more than simple) good: I shall willingly wish men may not be sotransported as to swear against a good when it can be separated from

Sander fon de juramento prælett. 3. Set 12.

bind a-

the evil; nor yet to discharge the Oath, because the good (which might have been divided) is involved: It is a mans duty to diftinguish between the Superstructures of men, and foundation of Christ and his Apostles (of which order his Episcopacy doth not yet appear:) And it is a mans liberty to restrain himself from the thing that is in its own nature good and ufeful, when attended with plain and politive, nay, accidental evil. I knew a man passing through an old rotten house, gota knock on his pate, and in his passion, sware he would pull it down and burn it every flick; his work-men advised him to use some of the materials good and useful in his new Fabrick; the good man is conscious of his Oath (though rash and unadvised) Will the Doctor please to refolve his conscience? Or again, Hezekiah observes the brazenserpent (the sometimes means, and now Memorial of Israels remedy, and type of the Redeemer) abused to Idolatry, sweareth he will destroy it, and accordingly executes his Oath: Suppose it at that time(as it had its good) to be as useful as before, it will puzzle me to charge him with iniquity

for fo doing.

Thirdly, " No man can in conscience be bound by any such Covenant against that which may upon second thoughts and after-view, and He that better information, appear to be good and useful to him; he is here sweareth bound not to keep his Covenant in the latitude of his mistakes and pre- to his own Sumptions, nor to all according to his prejudices and former suppofals, hurt, is bound. but rather to retract his rashnesse and unadvisednesse in taking it at first, and to act according to his present evidence of what is true just. good, lawful, and useful even in Episcopacy, &c. Truly Sir, this is to me such strange divinity, that I cannot but wonder D. D. should be attendant on the affertor of it; I am sure if it be admitted, one reason produced by no mean Casuist to defend the Obligation of an Oath extorted by fear, must fall to the ground, Elegit id qued tune visum est sander de Gbi melius, he chose that which he then conceived to be the best; but suran. according to our Casuist, he might on an after-view discern hurtful, Lett. 4Sett and so retrast: How happy and cheering would such a resolution as 15. this have been unto Tephtah in his anguish and out-cry, I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and cannot go back! Why man, can you not on second thoughts and an afterview fee the goodness and usefulness of your daughter? Retract the rashnesse and unadrisednesse of thy vow; and act according to thy present evidence; Nay, how advantagious had this resolution been to Israel, when Foshnah and the Princes preserved the Gibeonites to be pricks in the eyes, and thornes in the side of Israel? To what end do they plead, We have sworne an-

to them by the Lord, now therefore we may not touch them? Why, must they needs act to the latitude of their presump ions & mistakes? could they not on second thoughts and after view discover their craft, and discern them to be of the people commanded by God to be destroy'd. dangerous to disturb their peace, and divert them from their Religion? How fad was the fate of the fons of Saul in the want of fuch a lolution as this which might have faved them all from hanging? for the Scripture witnesseth, That Saul flem the Gibeonites in his zeale to the children of Ifrael and Indah, 2 Sam. 21, 2. Without doubt on feco d thoughts and an after-view of the good which might enfue on the violation of that Covenant caught by fraude, I hope our Prelates will take care in the next Impression of the Common-Prayer-Book, to make the words in P(al. 15. ver. 5. conform to Pfal. 105. ver . 28 it is but the expunction of a Negative particle, and for disobedient, we reade obedient; and for repenterh not, we reade repenterh; and fo the Character of a man for heaven shall be conform to our Casuists resolution and Scriptvre-Text, He that [we areth to his owne hurt, and recenteth: I cannot but commend the correction of this verse to the Drs. care; for as it is now read, it is not onely different from the Original, but also dissonat to his dostrine whi. It it is read in the Old Commonprayer-Book, He that sweareth to his neighbour, and dfaprointe h him not, though it were to his own hindrance.

Thus Sir, I have tryed the ftrength of the Drs. Arguments; and find in them very little force to rectifie conscience, release St. Peter, and reconcile the Covenant with Episcopacy. Truly Sir, were Episcopacy in it self never so good, yet it must appear necessary before it break through the bond of the Cove 1a t: It is now indeed high time to learn righteonfreß and wildom; the which works not more in any thing, than a confcientions cleaving to the Covenant, and paying the vows made to God in the day of affliction: I freely consent with him, that the caucious and conscientious covenanter take a calmer view, and exacter mea ure than perhaps he did at the first. But methinks he should not leave them to rules of so great latitude, that will not only discharge the Covenant. but all Sacred Religious ties: What Oaths can bind, if words are of no force, or but withs and cords? his owne imagination of no influence? no good may be excluded or involved? and fecond thoughts discovering usefulness will discharge it? where shall be the certainty of humane contracts or force of Religious bonds, if these principles be admitted? who shall ever scruple to make, or care to keep a Covenant, if other mens interpretations mult direct it, and our own retra-

ction

Aion on fence of rashuese, may discharge it? If Sir, these Propositions be the Do-Aors props for Episcopacy, it will appear too prophane for pious men to meddle with:

Sir, I deubt not bur he and all men shall find every conscientious Covenanter enjoy the comfort of his accomplished Oath, when in his place he bath feafonably advised, bumbly petitioned, and lawfully endeavoured, to remove Englands old Hierarchy; and to restore such an Episcopacy, to be exercised by the Officers of the Church in Com non, and good order, as is rewest the Scripture, Primitive practice and perswassion of sober, grave, pious, and learned men, such as was the late Primate of Armab, but if either His Most Sacred Majesty, of any other in Author'ty fail in the exercise of their capacity (as the late perfidious Rump in their traiterous and uncharitable Declaration of September 20, 16;0, malicioully suggested, he would, and as he seems to hope) to offet the ends of the Covenant, I hope it shall be no offence to mourn for their iniquity, and the iniquiry of the Land ; nor will it be inconsistent to that humble submeffion , active or puffive, I confess we all owe unto his Most Sacred Majetty: whatever shall be the eftablifhment in the Church (the uzh nev r lo co rupt, yer) wailft confiftent with falvacion, though it may accasion to me fuffering, and a uffince of my Ministry, by Gods grace it shall not eff & in me, er i.ch on whom I have an influ nce , Schifm from the Church, or Pefiftince of his M: jesties just Right and Authority; for who n as I have not fuffered the lest, fo if God fhould fo farre leave Him (which God forbid) I am ready, by him to fuffer the utmoft, inidherence to the Solema Leag e and Covenant, untill it be discovered a band of iniquity, a snare and gin for Schifme and Selition to all by to the dishonour of God, and reproach of Reformet Religion: Yet I cannot but most hearrily pray for the borest and ingenuous Reformation of Episcopacy beyond the former defective or excessive Conftitution or execution of it; which I doubt not will effect the corruption and extirpation covenanted.

I confess every conscientious Covenanter oweth this Justice and duty.

1. To God, "10 approve, love, defire, and use what is good, not being within his own power, and excluded by his Oath or Covenint; may, and must, are things very different.

2. "To obey the King as chief Governour of Church and State en oyning things lam-

ec ful and honeft (fo not Covenance d against) though not the very beft.

3. Topicy the Bishops and Fathers of the burch who have been there too injustions, or in uriously used, and pull down all proud Prelates and parernal Authority over Presbyters, which above their brethren, and debase their Minist y, because in a black Coat.

4. To encourage Ministers, and endeayour the re'cue of them from diviting Fadions and popular infolencies which have befulen them for want of the King, and Eccle-staffica O der, but may be enjoyed without a Bishop advanced in power above his Bethren.

c. Love to the Church, in endeavouring its unity, peace, and professity in the ruine of Preface and establishment of an Episcopasy and over-fight duly conflicted and care-

fully ex cured.

6. Care to his own foul, inward and eternal peace, not to be courened by glosses, courted by Rherorical flourishes, nor cudgelled out of his Covenant by most butter sufferings, but to cleave unto it with care, constancy, and d ligence, and take heed of all sophistical solutions, and subtle reconciliations, which ende your to bassle the Covenant, and break in pieces the very power of Religious bonds.

Sir,

'Sir, Knowing how tender and delicate a thing Conscience is , yet fearing it might be baffled and deluded by Sophiftry und scovered; I have presumed to surveigh your Doctors Solution of the Covenant, and give an account of my apprehensions of it; Covenant-breaking is so direful a God provoking sin, that I tremble to think of Englands least rendencie to it; whatever men fancie to themselves of the Covenant being the Rock of his late Majesties shipwrark, it is visible that the violation of it hath been the destruction of our late Usurpers, who laid it aside that they might leap into their Chair of State; and it cannot be denied to have beene the chief and only means of his Majesties most just and honourable Restitution; and an adherencie to it (I doubt not) will prove the establishment of his Royal Throne; I cannot therefore but be grieved to finde contempt poured on the Covenant, not only by the vulgar, but fuch whose ranck and gravity should make them more sensible of the weight and worth of an Oath. When Sir your Doctors Solution came first into my hands, the Speech of Julian

Cardinal of Saint Angelo concerning the League of Madiflaus King of Hungary with Amurath the Turk, came into my memory; and one observation seems too much alike unto it (I pray you pardon the comparison) the pretended principle of the one was Zeale for the Church, and love of Religion, and so of the other; the scepe of the one was to discharge the Oath, and so of the other: the method of the one the Turks, was to absolve by colour and pretence of binding under the Oath; so of the other: the Arguments of the one were defect of authority from Gods Vicar on earth, confent of Confederates, contrariety to former Covenints, exclusion of greater good, exposal to reproach and scandal, rashnesse and unadvisednesse in making, and the like; and such are the arguments of the other : the one was by a man of eminencie, and effeeme, and engaged in the same Oath; so is the other; such is Sir the agreement in every peint, that it would much better have become a Jesuite or Popish Cardinal than a Protestant Doctor. I cannot but pray they may not agree in their intended end, the breach of the Covenant; left God make them agree in the miferable effect, the loffe of the Christian Cause, ruine of Kingand people, and their perpetual infamy.

> I shall Sir trouble you no longer, fave to tell you this answer was dispatched in two days; and had waited on you much fooner, but that I hoped fome more eminent and able pen would have pleaded the Cause of the Covenant, and marched the Doctor suitably to himself; such as it is you now have it; I defire it may be weighed in the ballance of Reason and Religion, without respect unto the person; who by his meannesse and many calumnies (which yet he weareth as his crown) is obnoxious to no little prejudice; but if he prove a Taylors Goofe, het and heavie, but blinde and dark, will be contented to wear the Cap: whilst resolved to approve himself no lesse zealous in the Religious than he hath appeared in the Political or Civil part of the Solemne League and Covenan; and make it his care to give God

the things that are Gods, as Cefar the things that are Cefars.

SIR,

Farewell, be faithful.

Tuly Sth.

Hiftory of p. 290,291 292.

